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THE CORONATION STONE

Printed by R. Clark,

FOR

EDMONSTON & DOUGLAS, EDINBURGH.

LONDON . HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO.

The Coronation Stone

BY

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EDINBURGH: EDMONSTON & DOUGLAS

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS analysis of the legends connected with the Coronation Stone was read by the author, as Senior Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, at a Meeting of the Society held on the 8th of March last.

A limited impression is now published with Notes and Illustrations.

The latter consist of—

I. The Coronation Chair, with the stone under the seat, as it is at present seen in Westminster Abbey, *on the cover.*

II. The reverse of the Seal of the Abbey of Scone, showing the Scottish King seated in the Royal Chair, *on the title-page.*

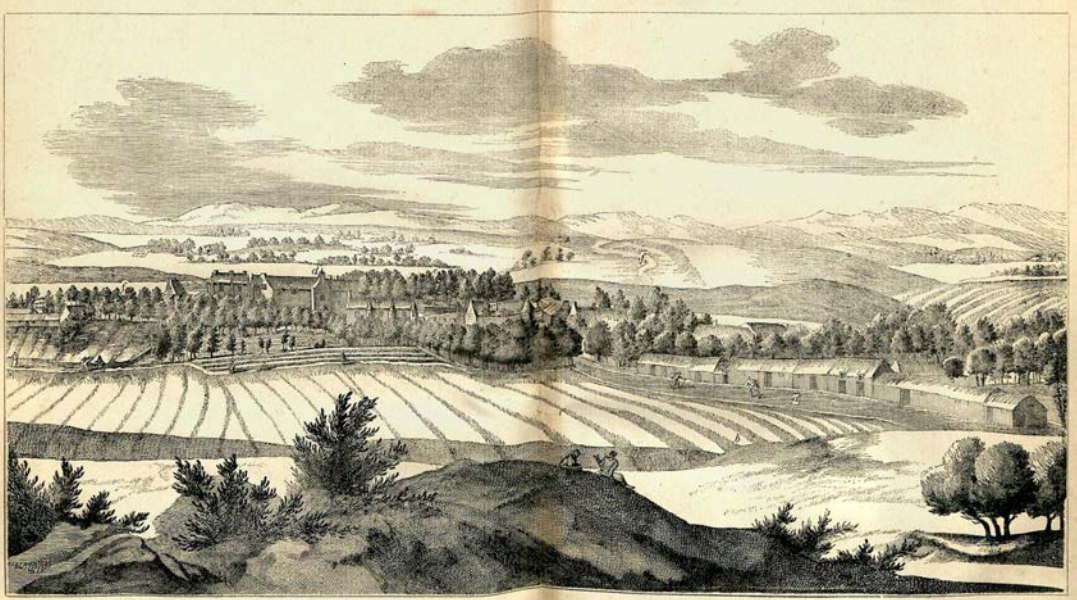
III. Ancient Scone, as represented in the year 1693 in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ, to precede page* 1.

a. Chantorgait.
b. Friar's Den.
c. Site of Abbey.
d. Palace.
e. Moot Hill, with the Church built in 1624 upon it.
f. The river Tay.

IV. The Coronation Chair as shewn by Hollinshed in 1577, *page* 12.

V. Coronation of Alexander III., from the MS. of Fordun, contained in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This is a MS. of the Scoticronicon, as altered, interpolated, and continued by Bower, *opposite Latin description in the Appendix, page* 47.

20 INVERLEITH ROW, EDINBURGH,
7th June 1869.



The Prospect of the House and Town of SKUYN.

a. Chantorgait.
b. Friar's Den.
c. Site of Abbey.
d. Palace.
e. Moot Hill, with the Church built in 1624 upon it.
f. The River Tay.

The Coronation Stone.

THE LEGEND of the CORONATION STONE of SCOTLAND, formerly at Scone, and now in Westminster Abbey, is intimately connected with the fabulous history of Scotland. The tale of its wanderings from Egypt to Scone, and of its various resting-places by the way, is, in fact, closely interwoven with that spurious history which, first emerging in the controversy with England regarding the independence of Scotland, was wrought into a consistent narrative by Fordun, and finally elaborated by Hector Boece into that formidable list of mythic monarchs, who swayed the sceptre over the Scottish race from "the Marble Chair" in Dunstaffnage.

The mists cast around the true history of Scotland by this fictitious narrative have now been, in a great measure, dispelled. Modern criticism has demolished the forty kings whose portraits adorn the walls of the gallery in Holyrood, and whose speeches are given at such wearisome length in the pages of Boece. But the legend of the Stone of Destiny, or Fatal Chair, has taken such hold of the Scottish mind, that it is less easily dislodged from its place in the received

history of the country; and there it still stands, in all its naked improbability, a solitary waif from the sea of myth and fable, with which modern criticism has hardly ventured to meddle, and which modern scepticism has not cared to question. It is still believed that the stone was peculiarly connected with the fortunes of the Scottish race, that it was preserved for many generations at Dunstaffnage, and that it was transferred from Argyllshire to Scone in the ninth century, when the Scots are said to have conquered the Pictish nation.

But the history with which this legend is connected having now been rejected as unquestionably spurious, it is surely an inquiry of some interest to what extent any part of this legend is really historical, or how far it must share the same fate. The popularly-received account of the stone may be shortly stated in the words of Pennant:—"In the church of the abbey (of Scone) was preserved the famous chair, whose bottom was the fatal stone, the palladium of the Scottish monarchy; the stone, which had first served Jacob for his pillow, was afterwards transported into Spain, where it was used as a seat of justice by Gethalus, contemporary with Moses. It afterwards found its way to Dunstaffnage in Argyllshire, continued there as the Coronation Chair till the reign of Kenneth II., who, to secure his empire, removed it to Scone. There it remained, and in it every Scottish monarch was inaugurated till the year 1296, when Edward I., to the mortification of North Britain, translated it to Westminster

Abbey, and with it, according to ancient prophecy, the empire of Scotland."[1]

The latter part of this account is unquestionably true. It is true that such a stone was preserved at Scone; it is true that Scottish monarchs were crowned upon it; and it is true that in 1296 Edward I. removed it to Westminster Abbey, where it now is, and can be seen under the seat of the Coronation-Chair.

Fordun has left us a detailed account of the coronation of Alexander III. at Scone, in the year 1249. He did not live to continue his historical narrative beyond the reign of David I., but in the MS. preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, are the materials collected by him for the remainder of his history, in which this account is contained, and it has been introduced, with some variations, by Bower, in his continuation of Fordun's history. It has been little noticed by Scottish historians, and by those who do refer to it, very inaccurately represented, except by Mr. Robertson in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, who is always accurate; but he has taken his account from Bower's altered version, instead of from the older form of it contained in the Cambridge MS. In order to follow the description, it will be necessary that I should first produce to you ancient Scone.

The remains of ancient Scone, such as they are, are all contained within the present park of the palace of Scone, which extends along the east bank of the river Tay from

[1] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 116.

about a mile north of Perth for a considerable distance. From the river, the park extends with a gentle ascent towards the north and east, till it reaches the road from Perth to Bridge of Isla. Through the south part of the park, a small stream or burn flows into the Tay through a ravine called The Friars' Den, and on the north side of this ravine were situated the old abbey and the royal city of Scone. The present approach from Perth, now called the Queen's Drive, crosses this ravine by a bridge, and enters a broad terrace through a gate termed the Terrace Gate, till it reaches the north-east front of the present palace of Scone, situated about 300 yards from the Den. The present palace faces the river, which here runs in a south-easterly direction. About 100 yards from the south-east corner of the palace is an old burying-ground, and in 1841, in altering one of the terraces, the foundation of a small room or cell was found between the burying-ground and the palace, and within 20 yards of the former. It was surrounded by stone seats about 15 inches broad, and might be from 10 to 12 feet in dimension. It was probably part of the abbey buildings. About 70 yards to the north of this is an oval-shaped rising ground or hillock, called popularly the Moot Hill of Scone, and having on the top a flat area of about 100 yards by 60; this was the ancient *Mons Placiti* of the *Regiam Majestatem*, and the *Collis Credulitatis* or Mount of Belief of the Chronicles. About 200 yards due east of the north-east front of the present palace is an ancient gateway still preserved, and 30 yards east of it stood an ancient cross, now

removed to another site. From this gateway proceeded walls, built on the foundation of other walls, which seem to have enclosed these possessions of the abbey as well as the Moot Hill. The south wall is on a line with the east wall of the burying-ground.

The ancient palace of the abbots, with the abbey and abbey church, was entirely destroyed by a mob in 1559, who set fire to them, and burnt them to the ground; but there is little reason to doubt that the present palace is built on the site of the old palace. The rebuilding of the palace was commenced by the first Commendator after the Reformation, the Earl of Gowrie, and extended and completed by Sir David Murray, who, on the forfeiture of the Earl of Gowrie in 1600, received a grant of the lands of the abbey of Scone, which were erected into the lordship of Scone in 1605. This building was replaced by the present palace in 1803. In 1624 Sir David Murray took down the few remaining fragments of the walls of the abbey church, and erected a new church on the top of the Moot Hill. The old gateway appears also to belong to his period. We know from the old descriptions that the *cimiterium* lay on the north side of the abbey, and between it and the Moot Hill, and that the abbey church was immediately west of the *cimiterium*. If the burying-ground which is now found there is the same as the old *cimiterium*, it would determine the site of the buildings; but it contains no gravestones as old as the Reformation, and its site is inconsistent with the old descriptions, while the remains of the stone wall and seats

seem evidently to have formed part of the abbey buildings. The abbey was situated, therefore, in all probability, between the present palace and the old wall south of the ancient gate. On the north side of it, and almost under the Moot Hill, was the *cimiterium* or burying-ground, and, at the west end of the *cimiterium*, the abbey church. Outside of this wall, and extending along the Friars' Den, was the royal city of Scone, the site of which is marked by an avenue which still preserves the name of the Chantor Gate, leading from what is called the Gallows Knowe, at the south end, across the ravine, till it reached the road leading to the old gate from the east, which it joined 50 yards from the gate. Through this avenue proceeded the old road from Perth.[1]

Fordun's description of the coronation of Alexander III. is as follows. After narrating the death of Alexander II. at Kerreray, on Thursday, the 8th of July, in the year 1249, he proceeds thus:—'Alexander, the son of the aforesaid King Alexander, a boy of eight years old, came to Scone with a number of the earls, barons, and knights, on the following Tuesday, the 13th of July. There were

[1] "In cimiterio ex parte orientali ecclesiæ."—Fordun a Hearne, vol. iii. 758.

"Super montem ex parte boreali monasterii ejusdem extra cymyterium."—*Act Parl. Scot.* i. 216.

In the chartulary of Scone are two visitations of the monastery by the Bishop of St. Andrews in 1365 and 1369 (pp. 137-139), which mention the *ecclesia*, the *claustrum*, the *dormitorium*, the *refectorium*, the *capitulum*, the *infirmitorium*, and the *clausura monasterii*, within which no female was admitted. They also mention the *villa de Scona* and its *tabernæ* and *bothæ;* and among the feu-rights granted after the Reformation is one to "Peter Jak and Alisoun Scharpe, his spous, of that tenement of land upon the south-eist part of the *chantourgait*, 13 April 1586," (p. 232).

In Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ* is a view of Scone from the south, looking north, which shows the position of the buildings in 1693.

present the venerable fathers David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Galfridus, Bishop of Dunkeld, a man gracious in many things both to clergy and laity, careful in things temporal and spiritual, one who showed himself amiable to all, both nobles and poor, but terrible to malefactors. There was present also the Abbot of the same monastery of Scone; and, behold, as soon as they were assembled, there arose a great dissension among the nobles. Some of them wished not to make him king on that day, but only a knight, saying that it was an unlucky day; and this was said, not on account of the unlucky day, but because Alan Durward, at that time Justiciary of all Scotland, wished to gird him on that day with the knightly sword. To whom submitting, the Lord Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteath, a man eminent and prudent in council, replied, saying that he had himself seen a king consecrated who was yet not a knight, and had often heard of kings who were not knights being consecrated, and added, saying, that a country without a king was without doubt like a ship in the midst of the billows without a rower or steersman. He had also always loved the late king, of pious memory, and this king on account of his father. He proposed, therefore, to elevate this boy as speedily as possible to the throne, as it was always hurtful to arrangements already made to defer them. On his advice, the bishops and the abbot, as well as the nobles and the whole clergy and people, gave their consent and assent with one voice to his being made king.

'And it was done that the same Earl Walter Comyn, when he heard this, and the whole clergy, the Earls Malcolm Earl of Fife, and Malise Earl of Stratherne, and other nobles uniting with them, they immediately led the future King Alexander to the cross, which stands in the *cimiterium* or churchyard at the east end of the church; and, having there placed him in the regal chair, decked with silk cloths embroidered with gold, the Bishop of St. Andrews, the others assisting him, consecrated him king, the king himself sitting, as was proper, upon the regal chair—that is, the stone—and the earls and other nobles placing vestments under his feet, with bent knees, before the stone. This stone is reverently preserved in that monastery for the consecration of kings of Scotland; nor were any of the kings in wont to reign anywhere in Scotland, unless they had, on receiving the name of king, first sat upon this royal stone in Scone, which was constituted by ancient kings the "sedes superior" or principal seat, that is to say, of Albania. And, behold, every thing being completed, a certain Scotch mountaineer, suddenly kneeling before the throne with bent head, saluted the king in his mother-tongue in these Scottish words—Benach de Re Alban Alexander, Mac Alexander, Mac William, Mac Henri, Mac David, and thus, repeating the genealogy of the Scottish kings, rehearsed them to the end.'[1]

[1] Fordun a Hearne, vol. iii. p. 757. Bower, in his continuation of Fordun, in which the materials left by Fordun are largely interpolated, has greatly altered this description. He makes the meeting solve the difficulty as to the knighting of the king, by the Bishop of St. Andrews both knighting and crowning him. He is then

Fordun's description is so graphic, we can almost picture the scene. A Scottish July day; the cross in the *cimiterium*; before it the fatal stone, covered with gold-embroidered cloths; upon it the boy-king; at his side the two Bishops and the Abbot of Scone; before him the great barons of Scotland, kneeling before the ancient symbol of Scottish sovereignty; the eager Highland *Sennachy* pressing forward to utter his barbarous Celtic gutturals; in the background the Mount of Belief, covered with a crowd of people gazing on the solemn scene; and in the distance the blue range of the Grampians, broken only by the pass through which the Tay emerges to pass before them on the west, and where the Abbey of Dunkeld lies nestled, whose abbot, the founder or *Stammvater* of his race, had, by his marriage with the daughter of the last king of Scottish race, placed his descendants in the "Marble Chair."

The next coronation on the fatal stone was attended with more humiliating circumstances. John Baliol was crowned at Scone, and immediately after his coronation did

crowned and anointed, and has the coronation oath administered to him, "prius Latine postea Gallice;" and after the coronation he is led to the "cimiterium," and placed on the stone merely to receive the address of the Highland Sennachy. In short, he assimilates the coronation to that of the Norman kings of England in the church, and reduces the scene in the "cimiterium" to an unmeaning ceremony. Those of our historians who have noticed the coronation at all follow Bower in his description; but Alexander was in real fact knighted by Henry, king of England, in 1251, and no Scotch king was actually crowned and anointed prior to David II., who was the first to receive the more solemn inauguration in consequence of an application by Robert I. to the Pope. The two descriptions are placed in parallel columns in the appendix, in order to show the extent to which these old writers falsified history when it suited their purpose. We can only say that in matters touching the controversy with Scotland, English writers were equally unscrupulous.

homage to the King of England as his over-lord. William Rishanger thus describes it in his Chronicle, written about 1327 :—'John de Balioll, on the following feast of St. Andrew's, placed upon the regal stone, which Jacob placed under his head when he went from Bersabee to Haran, was solemnly crowned in the church of the canons regular at Scone;'[1] and there is preserved a warrant by Edward I., by which, as over-lord of the kingdom of Scotland, on the narrative that 'Duncan, son and heir of the late Duncan, Earl of Fife, was under age, and could not perform a certain function in the new creation of the King of Scotland—that of placing him in his royal seat at Scone, incumbent upon him according to the usage of the kingdom of Scotland—he assigned to John de St. John to place, in the name of the said heir, John de Balliol, King of Scotland, to whom he had judicially restored that kingdom in his royal seat at Scone, according to the aforesaid usage.'[2] William Rishanger also records that Edward I., after he had overrun Scotland in 1296, on his return from the north, 'passed by the Abbey

[1] Johannes de Balliolo, in festo Sancti Andreæ sequenti, collocatus super lapidem regalem, quem Jacob supposuerat capiti suo, dum iret de Bersabee et pergeret Aran, in ecclesia Canonicorum Regularium de Scone solemniter coronatur. (Will. Rishanger's *Chronica et Annales*, p. 135.)

[2] Sciatis quod, cum Duncano filio et heredi Duncani, quondam comitis de Fif infra ætatem et in custodia nostra existenti, quædam certa officia, in nova creatione regis Scotiæ, de ponendo ipsum in regiam sedem suam, apud Scone secundum consuetudinem dicti regni Scotiæ, incumbant, ut accepimus, facienda. Nos nolentes praefato Duncano, sic infra ætatem et in custodia nostra existenti, præjudicium in hac parte aliqualiter generari, ratione minoris ætatis ejusdem hæredis assignavimus dilectum et fidelem nostrum Johannem de Sancto Johanne; ad ponendum, nomine ipsius hæredis, dilectum et fidelem nostrum Johannem de Balliollo regem Scotiæ (cui regnum illud judicialiter reddidimus) in regiam sedem suam apud Scone secundum consuetudinem prædictam. Teste rege apud Norham xxi. die Novembris (Rym. *Fœd.* i. 785.)

of Scone, where having taken away the stone which the Kings of Scotland were wont at the time of their coronation to use for a throne, carried it to Westminster, directing it to be made the chair of the priest celebrant.'[1]

Hemingford says, 'At the Monastery of Scone was placed a large stone in the church of God, near the great altar, hollowed out like a round chair, in which future kings were placed, according to custom, as the place of their coronation.' And again, 'in returning by Scone [the king] ordered that stone, in which, as has been said, the kings of the Scots were wont to be placed at their coronation, to be taken and carried to London, as a sign that the kingdom had been conquered and resigned.'[2]

Harding, in his Metrical Chronicle, says—

"And as he came home by Skoon away,
The regal there of Scotland than he brought,
And sent it forthe to Westmynstre for ay,

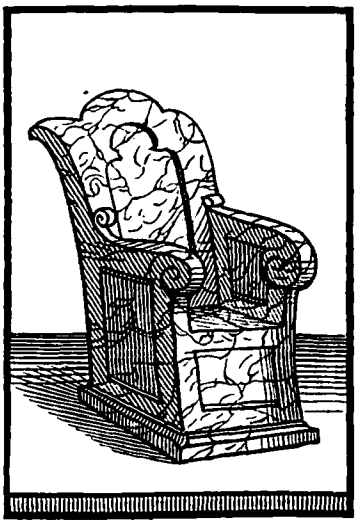
[1] In redeundo autem, transivit per Abbathiam de Scone; ubi sublato lapide quo Reges Scotorum, tempore coronationis, solebant uti pro throno, usque Westmonasterium transtulit illum, jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum (Will. Rish. *Chron.*, p. 163).

[2] Apud Monasterium de Scone positus erat lapis pergrandis in ecclesia Dei, juxta magnum altare, concavus quidem ad modum rotundæ cathedræ confectus, in quo futuri reges loco quasi coronationis ponebantur ex more.

In redeundo per Scone, præcepit tolli et Londoniis eariari, lapidem illum, in quo, ut supra dictum est, reges Scotorum solebant poni loco coronationis suæ et hoc in signum regni conquesti et resignati (Hem. *Cron.* T. i. pp. 37-100).

To complete the evidence, among the king's jewels which were in the castle of Edinburgh in 1296, was "una petra magna super quam Reges Scotiæ solebant coronari" (Chalmers' *Caled.* vol. i. p. 468); and in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I. for A.D. 1300, is a payment "Magistro Waltero Pictori, pro custubus et expensis per ipsum factis circa unum gradum faciendum ad pedem nove Cathedre in qua petra Scocie reponitur juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbatie Westmonaster.' (*Lib. Gard.*, Edward I. p. 60.)

To ben ther ynne a chayer clenly wrought,
For masse prestes to sitte yn whan hem ought,
Whiche yit is there stondyng beside the shryne,
In a chaier of olde tyme made ful fyne."[1]



The Scotch chronicles all agree in asserting the same fact.

So much of the legend being unquestionably true, let us see how far the earlier part of the tale will bear the test of examination.

Starting with the stone at Scone in the thirteenth century, and playing its traditionary part in the coronation of the kings, let us trace its history back, examining the form of the legend at each stage of our progress. We may take Hector Boece as giving it in its latest and fullest form: Boece's history was written in 1527, and in 1531 it was

[1] MS. Bod. Seld. B. 10. The figure of the chair which follows is from Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, London, 1577.

translated by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray, which at once made his fabulous history familiar to the Scottish mind, so that it was soon accepted as the popular belief of the country, while the polished latinity of Buchanan commended it to the favour of the learned. Boece's story is shortly this:— 'Gathelus, a Greek, the son either of the Athenian Cecrops or the Argive Neolus, went to Egypt at the time of the Exodus, where he married Scota, the daughter of Pharao, and after the destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea, fled with her by the Mediterranean till he arrived in Portingall, where he landed, and founded a kingdom at Brigantium, now Compostella. Here he reigned in the marbile chair, which was the "lapis fatalis cathedræ instar," or fatal stone like a chair, and wherever it was found portended kingdom to the Scots. In after ages it bore the following inscription:—

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locutum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

which Bellenden thus translates:—

The Scottis sall brwke that realme as native ground,
Geif weirdis faill nocht, quhairever this chair is found.

Simon Breck, a descendant of Gathelus, brought the chair from Spain to Ireland, and was crowned in it as King of Ireland.

Fergus, son of Ferchard, was first King of the Scots in Scotland, and brought the chair from Ireland to Argyll, and was crowned in it. He built a town in Argyll called Beregonium, in which he placed it. From him proceeded forty kings of

Scotland. The twelfth king, Evenus, built a town near Beregonium, called after his name Evonium, now called Dunstaffnage, to which the stone was removed, and the remainder of the forty kings are all crowned in Dunstaffnage, reign there, and are buried there.' In Boece it is usually called Evonium, but Bellenden invariably substitutes Dunstaffnage, and thus it became familiar to the Scottish mind as the ancient capital of the Scottish kingdom, and the place where the fatal stone was kept.

'The Scots are expelled to Ireland under the last of the forty kings, but return under his nephew Fergus Mac Erc, who is crowned in the marble chair. He builds a church at Iona, and commands it to be the sepulchre of the kings in future.

Kenneth MacAlpin, the last of these kings, conquers the Picts, and brings the fatal stone from Argyll to Gowry, and places it in Scone, because it was there that his principal victory over the Picts had taken place. Some say that he then caused the verse to be inscribed on the stone beginning "Ni fallat fatum."[1]'

The forty kings are purely fabulous, but with Fergus Mac Erc the stream of fictitious narrative flows into that of

[1] Boethii *Scotorum Hist.*, ed. 1527. Bellenden's *Croniklis of the Scots.*

Buchanan adds to this account, that when Kenneth macAlpin brought the stone to Scone, he placed it there "in cathedram ligneum inclusum;" but this is contrary to the expressions of the older writers, who describe the stone as "Cathedræ instar," or as "in formam Cathedræ decisum;" but never that it was enclosed in a chair, as it afterwards was at Westminster. It is remarkable that while Hemingford calls the stone which was carried off "pergrandis," and in the inventory it is called "una magna petra," the present stone enclosed in the corona-

history, for he is the first of the historic kings of Dalriada who founded the Scottish colony of Argyll in the sixth century; and the historic kings of Dalriada are now interwoven with fictitious monarchs in Boece's tale. It is remarkable that when the historical element enters, Dunstaffnage disappears, and Icolmkill or Iona takes its place.

A century and a half earlier Fordun states the legend thus:—'Neulus, a Greek, has a son Gaythelus, who goes to Egypt, marries Scota, daughter of Pharao, king of Egypt, and leads the remnant of the people who were not drowned in the Red Sea through Africa to Spain. One of his descendants, a king of Spain, has several sons, and sends one of them, Simon Brec, to Ireland, to whom he gave "Marmorea Cathedra," the marble chair, diligently and carefully sculptured by ancient art, on which the kings of Spain, of Scottish race, were wont to sit. This stone or chair he places in the most eminent place of the kingdom, called Themor, which became the royal seat and principal place of the kingdom of Ireland. He adds, that of the origin of the stone there were two accounts: one, that Gaythelus brought it from Egypt; the other, that Simon Brec having cast anchor on the shore of Ireland,

tion chair at Westminster measures only 26 inches in length by 16¾ inches in breadth and 10½ in depth. The *Marmorne Stuhl*, or marble chair, in which Charlemagne is said to have sat, and the Emperors of Germany were at one time crowned, is still preserved at Aix la Chapelle. It is a plain heavy seat of white marble on five steps, and with no carving or ornament, but it is believed that at coronations it was covered with plates of gold. The Scotch stone may have been similarly raised, and the seat alone taken to England, and inserted in the wooden chair made by Edward I.

and again weighed anchor in consequence of a storm, raised, with his anchor, a stone of marble, cut in the shape of a chair. Fordun then quotes the prophecy, "Ni fallat fatum," and adds that Fergus, son of Farquhar, when he led the Scots from Ireland to Scotland, brought with him the royal chair cut out of marble stone, in which he was crowned first king there by the Scots; after whose example the succeeding kings received the rite of coronation in the same chair.' Fordun does not say how it came to Scone.[1]

The "Cronicon Rythmicum," which may be classed with Fordun as an authority, gives the same account, stating, however, that Gaythelus brought the stone, which it calls "lapis Pharaonis," or Pharao's stone from Egypt, and applies to it the epithet of "anchora vite," probably the origin of Fordun's second account that it was raised with the anchor. In stating that Fergus brought the stone to Scotland, the word Ergadia is substituted for Scotia; and in the later edition of this chronicle, after stating that the subsequent kings were crowned upon it, the line is added—

Ut Scona testatur usque tunc lapis iste locatur.[2]

Neither Fordun nor the "Cronicon Rythmicum" know anything of Dunstaffnage as the place where the stone was kept in Argyll; and the former mentions it only as a stronghold of the Lords of Lorn in the reign of Robert the Bruce. Neither do they know anything of the removal of the stone by Kenneth mac Alpin to Scone in the ninth century; and

[1] Fordun a Hearne. [2] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 333.

Fordun, who gives his reign in great detail, makes no allusion to it.

It is remarkable that the two features of the legend to which popular belief has clung with greatest tenacity—viz. that the stone was kept at Dunstaffnage, and that it was removed from thence to Scone by Kenneth mac Alpin when he conquered the Picts—rest upon the statement of Hector Bœce alone, and are totally unknown to the older authorities.

Wyntoun, though his date is later than Fordun, may be considered as an independent authority, and follows more closely the older chronicles. He begins his account with the King of Spain, who sent his son, Symon Brec, to Ireland.

A gret Stane this Kyng than had,
That fore this Kyngis Sete wes made ;
And haldyne wes a gret Jowale
Wytht-in the Kynryke of Spayne hale.

This stone he takes to Ireland, and

Thare he made a gret Cyté,
And in it syne that Stane gert hé
Be set, and haldyne for Jowale,
And Chartyr of that Kynryke hale.
Fergus Erc son fra hym syne
Down discendand ewyn be lyne
In to the fyve and fyfty Gré,
As ewyne recknand men may sé,
Brought this Stane wytht-in Scotland,
Fyrst quhen he come and wane that Land ;
And fyrst it set in Ikkolmkil,
And Skune thare-eftyr it was brought tyle.[1]

[1] Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, B. III. c. ix.

The main difference here is that the stone is brought from Ireland to Scotland, not by the mythic Fergus, son of Ferquhard, but by the historic Fergus, son of Erc; and, instead of being placed by the former in Argyll, is placed by the latter in Icolmkill; but he too says nothing as to when the stone was brought to Scone, and does not allude to it in his account of the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin.

We have a still older form of the legend in the *Scala-cronica*, the compilation of which was completed in the year 1355. In this chronicle the legend begins with Simon Brec, the youngest son of the King of Spain going to Ireland, 'who brought with him a stone on which the kings of Spain were wont to be crowned, and placed it in the most sovereign beautiful place in Ireland, called to this day the Royal Place, and Fergus, son of Ferchar, brought the royal stone before received, and placed it where is now the Abbey of Scone.'[1]

By Fergus, son of Ferchar, it is obvious, from the list of his successors, that the historic Fergus, son of Erc, is here meant.

Blind Harry, the minstrel, in his metrical life of Sir William Wallace, obviously gives the legend in the same form. In talking of the coronation of John Baliol, he says—

> The crown he took upon the self-same stane,
> That Gadales sent with his son from Spain;
> When Iber Scot first into Ireland come,
> At Canmor syne King Fergus has it won,

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 196.

Brought it to Scone, and stable made it there,
Where kings were crowned eight hundred years and mair,
Before the time that King Edward it fand,
This jewel he gart turse into England.[1]

By Canmor, Harry means Teamor, the Themor of Fordun, the Royal Place of the *Scalacronica* in Ireland, now called Tara; and if it had been more than 800 years at Scone when Edward took it in 1296, it implies that it was placed there in the fifth century, the time when these chronicles bring Fergus Mac Erc from Ireland to Scotland.

Icolmkill therefore now drops out of the legend as well as Argyll, and the stone is brought direct from Tara to Scone, and placed there by Fergus himself. We also hear no more of the prophecy, "Ni fallat fatum," for which let us be thankful.

The only other mention of the legend, and the oldest I have been able to find, is by Baldred Bisset, in his document called "Processus Baldredi contra figmenta regis Anglie," compiled in 1301, and he makes very short work of it indeed. 'The daughter of Pharao, king of Egypt, with an armed band and a large fleet, goes to Ireland, and there being joined by a body of Irish, she sails to Scotland, taking with her the royal seat which he, the King of England, with other insignia of the kingdom of Scotland, carried with him by violence to England. She conquered and destroyed the Picts and took their kingdom; and from this Scota the Scots and Scotia are named, according to the line—

A muliere Scota vocitatur Scocia tota.'[2]

[1] Wallace, B. I. c. iv.

[2] Filia namque Pharaonis regis Egipti,

It is remarkable that prior to Baldred not a trace of the legend is to be found in any of the older chronicles. He is absolutely the first who mentions it.

Another fact is even more remarkable. Baldred Bisset was one of the commissioners sent to Rome to plead the cause of the independence of Scotland before the Pope. A paper was prepared by the Scottish Government, called "Instructiones," containing an elaborate statement of the grounds on which the claim for independence was based, and what Baldred did was to convert these "Instructiones" into a kind of memorial, which he termed "Processus." Now, in the "Instructiones," on which the "Processus" was based, there is not the slightest allusion to the coronation-stone or its legend. The parallel passage is this—

'The ancient people of the Scots, thus called after Scota, daughter of Pharao, king of Egypt, went from Egypt, and first occupied Ireland; they occupied, secondly, Argyll in Scotland, and having driven the Britons out of Scotland, the part of Britain thus occupied was called by them by the new name of Scotia, from that first Scota, Queen of the Scots, according to the line—

A muliere Scota vocitatur Scotia tota.'[1]

What Baldred did, then, was to make Scota herself lead

cum armata manu et maxima classe nauium, applicuit in Hibernia. Postea, assumptis quibusdam Hibernicis, in Scociam nauigauit, deferens secum sedile regium, quod iste rex Anglie, inter cetera regni Scocie insignia, secum per violenciam de regno Scocie in Angliam asportauit. Ipsa deuicit et dejecit Pictos, et regnum ipsum obtinuit; ac ab ipsa Scota, Scoti et Scocia nuncupantur. Unde versus;

"A muliere Scota vocitatur Scocia tota."

Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, p. 280.

[1] *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 242.

the Scots to Scotland—to leave out the expulsion of the Britons;—and to interpolate two passages—first, that she brought the fatal stone with her; secondly, that she herself conquered the Picts, who, in a previous passage he says, had driven out the Britons, and taken their kingdom.

Baldred's object was to present the argument for the independence of Scotland as forcibly as possible. The derivation of the kingdom from the Scots, and their progress from Egypt through Spain and Ireland to Scotland, was the tale opposed to that of the King of England, by whom the kingdom of Scotland was derived from Albanactus, the youngest son of Brutus, the *Eponymus* of the Britons, while that of England was derived from Locrinus, the eldest son. Both tales were seriously put forward and seriously argued, as if they possessed a vital bearing upon the controversy, and it seems to have occurred to Baldred that he would strengthen his argument if he made the *Eponyma* of the Scots, Scota herself, bring the coronation-stone, which Edward I. himself, by removing it to England, had recognised as symbolical of the Scottish monarchy, with her in his wanderings. By finding it necessary to make her conquer the Picts and take their kingdom, it is plain that he only knew of Scone as the place where the stone had been for time immemorial; and I venture to suggest that we owe the origin of the legend entirely to the patriotic ingenuity of Baldred Bisset.

Once suggested, it was eagerly caught up and applied to the Scottish fable in its different stages of development.

Scota first brings it direct to Scone. It is then identified with the *Lia Fail* or Irish stone at Tara, and brought from thence to Scone by the historic Fergus, when the petty kings of the first colony of Dalriada were magnified into the true kings of Scotland. Then it rests at Icolmkill by the way. Then, when Fordun pushed back the arrival of the Scots for many centuries, it is brought to Argyll by the mythic Fergus, son of Ferchard, and the prophecy " ni fallat fatum," &c. added to it. Then, when the forty kings were elaborated, it is placed in Dunstaffnage, and said to have been transferred from thence to Scone by Kenneth MacAlpin, when he conquered the Picts in the ninth century; and this is the latest form of the fable.

The Irish legend of the origin of the *Lia Fail*, or Irish coronation-stone at Tara, is very different. It is contained in an old Irish tract termed the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests, and is to this effect:—Ireland was occupied by different colonies before the Milesians took possession of it. The monarchy was founded by the colony of the *Firbolg*, who divided Ireland into the five provinces, and established *Teamar* or Tara as the chief seat. The colony which followed them, and immediately preceded the Milesians, was that of the *Tuatha De Danaan* who came from the land of Lochlan, where they inhabited four cities, called Falias, Gorias, Finias, Murias. From thence they went to Scotland, bringing with them from the four cities, four precious articles. From Falias they brought the *Lia Fail*, which had the property of sounding under

each king at his election if he was the rightful king and not a usurper. From Gorias, they brought a sword ; from Finias, a spear ; and from Murias, a cauldron. They remained in Scotland seven years, inhabiting a district called *Dobhar* and *Iardobhar* and then went to Ireland, where, after nine reigns, they were conquered by the Milesians.[1]

It is somewhat remarkable that while the Scotch legend brings the stone at Scone from Ireland, the Irish legend brings the stone at Tara from Scotland. The two legends, at all events, are quite antagonistic to each other, and there is one historic fact certain as to each.—First, the *Lia Fail*, or Irish stone, did not leave Tara, but was still there in the eleventh century ; and, secondly, the Scotch stone was not in Argyll during the existence of the Irish colony of Dalriada, nor was used in the inauguration of their kings. The first appears from this, that the Irish translation of Nennius, made in the eleventh century, has appended to it a list of the *Mirabilia* or wonders of Erin, among which are the three wonders of *Teamar* or Tara ; and the third is "the *Lia Fail*, or stone which sounded under every king whom it recognised in the sovereignty of *Teamar*." Another version says "there is a stone at *Temhar*, viz. the *Lia Fail*, which

[1] The tract called the *Leabhar Gabhala*, a book of conquests, is preserved in several of the ancient Irish MSS. There is a fragment in the *Leabhar na huidhri* of *circa* 1100 ; an edition in the Book of Leinster of *circa* 1160 ; one in the Book of Ballymote of 1380 ; and two in the Book of Leacain of 1418. There is a more modern edition by the O'Clerys in the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is, it is believed, a prospect of this tract being published, collated with the older editions, but the substance of it will be found fairly enough represented in Keating's History of Ireland.

used to sound under the feet of every one that assumed the kingdom of Erin.[1] Petrie, in his *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, quotes other old documents to show that the stone still remained there.[2] The second fact is shown by the account given by the biographers of St. Columba of the inauguration of Aidan as King of the Scots of Argyll. The account is given by two of the successors of St. Columba—Cumine the White, who was abbot from 657 to 669, and Adomnan, who was abbot from 679 to 704. St. Columba had obtained at the Council of Dumceat the independence of Scotch Dalriada; and if ever there was an occasion on which the Stone of Destiny might be expected to play a prominent part, it was in the solemn rite by which St. Columba constituted Aidan king, in obedience to a divine command declared in a vision, and accompanied by a prophecy regarding his successors. He ordains him by placing his hands upon his head, blessing him, using what Adomnan calls "verba ordinationis;" but, throughout the whole description, there is not a single allusion to the Fatal Stone.[3]

The late Dr. Joseph Robertson suggested an ingenious theory, by which he endeavoured to reconcile the non-appearance of the stone in the inauguration of the Scottish Kings of Dalriada with the legend which makes Kenneth mac Alpin bring the stone from Argyllshire to Scone in the

[1] *Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of* Nennius.—Ir. Ar. Society, 1848, p. 201.

[2] Petrie *on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill.*—Trans. Royal Irish Acad., v. xviii. pp. 2, 160.

[3] Cumine's *Vit. Columbæ*, cap. v. apud Pinkerton's *Vit. Antiq. SS. Scotiæ*, p. 30; Adomnan's *Vit. S. Columbæ*, B. iii. c. v. pp. 197-201, Reeves' edit., Dublin, 1857.

ninth century, and his suggestion has been adopted by Dean Stanley in his *Memorials of Westminster*. He supposed that the stone may have been the same which Adomnan records of St. Columba that he used for a pillow, while a stone slab formed his bed, and that it was brought by Kenneth to Scone, and there first used as a coronation-stone; but I think this is one of the rare occasions in which his acuteness and sagacity were at fault. His argument may be shortly stated thus:—

Both Cumine and Adomnan speak of a stone at Iona which had been used by St. Columba as a pillow, and on which he rested his head in his dying hours, and the first shape in which the legend of the stone of Scone meets us is as the pillow of Jacob. When Jacob slept on his stone pillow, he had a vision of angels ascending and descending. Columba had a vision of angels before his death. The Pictish Chronicle records that Kenneth mac Alpin, in the seventh year of his reign, transported the relics of St. Columba to a church which he built, and it was on the banks of the Tay, as we learn from another source. It is immediately after Kenneth's reign that we find Scone distinguished as a royal city, the place where a National Council or Assembly met in 906. Therefore the stone pillow may have been among the relics which Kenneth transported to a church on the banks of the Tay; Scone may have been that church, and it may have been subsequently used as the coronation stone.[1]

[1] Dean Stanley's *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 496, Appendix.

This theory is put together with much ingenuity, but it will not bear examination.

At the very outset there is a fatal objection to it. The coronation stone, when examined by Professor Ramsay proved to be a small block of red sandstone, and he reports, on the authority of Mr. Geikie, that the rocks of Iona consist "of a flaggy micaceous grit or gneiss. There is no red sandstone on it."[1] This drives us to the necessity of supposing that St. Columba did not use one of the stones on the island for his pillow, but brought one of red sandstone from a distance. Further, it is no part of the Scotch legend that the stone at Scone was Jacob's pillow. It is not stated by any Scotch document, but solely by the English chroniclers, and we learn from Adomnan that the stone pillow used by St. Columba was placed as a monument on his grave, and remained so at the time he wrote. It seems unlikely that Kenneth should, 200 years after St. Columba's death, have removed the monument on his grave, and made it his coronation stone. Further, it is hardly correct to say that we learn from another source, that the church Kenneth built was on the banks of the Tay. The source referred to is a Saxon document compiled not earlier than 1058, giving the localities in England in which the relics of eminent saints were placed. It makes no reference to Kenneth whatever, but simply says that St. Columcylle (*i.e.* his relics) reposes at Duncachan, on the river Tay.[2] Duncachan

[1] Dean Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 450.

[2] Hickes, ii. 117. The passage is thus translated by him—"Sanctus Columcylle requiescat in loco dicto Duncachan juxta flumen Tau."

is supposed to be miswritten for Dunkaldan or Dunkeld, and it is certain that Dunkeld was dedicated to St. Columba, and that relics of St. Columba were preserved there as late as 1500;[1] but there is no trace of any dedication to St. Columba at Scone, or of its ever having borne a name approaching in sound to Duncachan.

Lastly, I think it can be shown that Scone was known as a royal city before the reign of Kenneth. Fordun, in his account of the coronation of Alexander III., states that Scone had been constituted by ancient kings the "sedes superior" or principal seat of Scotland; and in accordance with this statement we find Malcolm IV., in his charter to the monastery of Scone confirming the grants of previous kings, states that it was founded "in principali sede regni nostri."[2]

We find that the kings of Scotland were not only crowned at Scone, but held parliaments there. These parliaments met on the Moot Hill of Scone. Thus Robert II. was crowned at Scone on the 26th day of March 1371, by the Bishop of St. Andrews, in presence of the prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles of Scotland, and of a great

[1] Alexander Mylne, who was a canon of Dunkeld, and died in 1549, narrates the following in his Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld (pp. 40-43):—"In anno domini millesimo quingentesimo, sævissima regnavit pestis, per totum regnum Scotiæ, et ut fama fertur, civitas Dunkeldensis illæsa, meritis divi patroni Columbæ a contagione pestifera semper permansit . . . . . quosdamque peste laborantes, in terris suis ecclesiasticis de Capeth, visitavit [episcopus], et sacramenta ecclesiastica eis ministrari fecit; altera vero die aquam fecit benedictam, in qua lavavit *os Beati Columbæ* et cum cancellario eis ad bibendum misit, quam multi recipientes sani facti sunt."

[2] *Chartulary of Scone*, p. 5.

multitude of the people; and on the following day convened the prelates, earls, barons, and nobles before him, 'the king sitting, as use is, in the royal seat, upon the Mount of Scone;'[1] and on the 18th of March 1390, Robert III. held a parliament at Scone, 'upon the Mount of Scone, on the north side of the monastery beyond the cemetery.'[2]

The parliaments held at Scone consisted of what were called the two Estates of Scotland—viz. the barons and the higher clergy. Thus, in a parliament held at Scone in 1303, the expression is "congregatis et comparentibus prelatis et proceribus regni;" and of another held at Scone in 1285, Wynton says:—

Alexander the thryd oure king
Gert mak at Scone a gret gadryng,
The sextene day eftyr Pasce,
Quhair thare the statis gadryd was.[3]

[1] Rege sedente in Sede Regia super montem de Scone ut est moris.—*Act Parl. Scot.*, p. 181. This "Sedes Regia" must not be confounded with the stone seat which was used at the coronation only, and was kept in the Abbey Church, to which the name of "Cathedra" is always applied. The royal seat here referred to was placed on the Moot Hill, and used when the king presided at a parliament or court of justice. It was on this seat on the Moot Hill that Robert Bruce was crowned in 1306, "in sede positus regali," after the seat called the "Cathedra," or stone had been removed to England."—Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 997.

Dr. Joseph Robertson adds, "that there appears some reason to suppose that there were two stones at Scone—(1) The Stone of Fate, now at Westminster; (2) a stone chair in which it would seem the Stone of Fate was placed when kings were to be inaugurated," but there seems no ground for this supposition. The "Sedes Regalis" is mentioned after the stone was removed. It never bears the name proper to the latter of "Cathedra." There is nothing to shew that it was of stone, and it seems to have been the throne on which the king usually sat when presiding over his nobles, while the fatal stone is by its legends indelibly connected with the inauguration of the new king only.

[2] Apud Sconam Sancti Andree diocesis super montem ex parte boreali monasterii ejusdem extra cymyterium.—*Act Parl. Scot.*, p. 216.

[3] Wyntoun's *Chron.* B. VII. c. x.

In 1209 King William the Lion held an assembly of the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders at Scone, in which it was ordained 'that the holy Scottish Church, the holy religion, and entire clergy, should be maintained, with all their rights, liberties, and privileges, in quiet peace, and always under royal protection.'[1] Now the assembly recorded in the Pictish Chronicle in 906 was obviously of this nature. It was held on the Mount of Belief, near the Royal City of Scone, and there Constantine the King, and Cellach, Bishop of St. Andrews, issued an ordinance for the preservation of the laws, faith, discipline, and rights of the Church.[2] We can here recognise a national assembly held upon the Moot Hill of Scone exactly similar to that held by King William the Lion. This Dr. Joseph Robertson seems to have regarded as the earliest mention of Scone as the "sedes principalis regni;" but it is not so, for Flann of Bute, in his Synchronisms of the Kings, written in the reign of Malcolm II., and therefore very little later than the Pictish Chronicle, states of Kenneth macAlpin that he was the first of the Scots "who acquired the kingdom of Scone."[3] By this expression the kingdom of the Picts is meant, and

[1] Statuit Rex Willelmus apud Sconam de communi consilio et deliberacione prelatorum comitum et baronum ac libere tenentium quod ecclesia sancta Scoticana et sancta religio et universus clerus in suis juribus libertatibus ac privilegiis omnibus manuteneatur in quiete pace et semper sub protectione regia.—*Act. Parl. Scot.*, p. 60.

[2] Ac in VI. anno Constantinus Rex et Cellachus episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei atque jura ecclesiarum evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in colle credulitatis prope regali civitati Scoan devoverunt custodiri.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 9.

[3] Cinaet macAilpin ise cet rig hro gab Righe Sgoinde do Gaidelaib.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 21.

the name of the capital is used for that of the kingdom, just as the Irish annalists use the expression of the Kingdom of Tara for the Kingdom of Ireland. This passage shows, that when Kenneth conquered the Picts, Scone was the capital of the Pictish kingdom.

But, further, Tighernac, who wrote in the same century, records in 728 'an unfortunate battle between the Picardach or Picts, at *Caislen Credi*, and the victory was against Alpin (King of the Picts), and his territories and all his men were taken, and Nectan, son of Derili, obtained the kingdom of the Picts.'[1] The Annals of Ulster, in recording the same event, uses the expression "juxta Castellum Credi."[2] The word *Caislen* is the Irish for "Castellum," and *Credi* is the Irish form of "credulitas" or belief. This was therefore the "Collis Credulitatis," or Mount of Belief, at Scone, and here also the taking of Scone implied that the conquerors obtained the kingdom of the Picts, showing that Scone was still the "sedes principalis" of the kingdom of the Picts in 728, that is, a century earlier, and that the Moot Hill then bore the name of "the Mount of Belief."

The Pictish Chronicle, in recording the assembly in 906, has the remarkable expression, 'from this day the hill merited its name—viz., the Mount of Belief.'[3] This does

[1] Cath truadh itir Picardachaibh ac Caislen Credhi ocus ro mebaigh ar in Alpin cetna ocus ro bearadh a cricha ocus a duine de uile, ocus ro gab Nechtain mac Derili Righi na Picardach.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 75.

[2] Bellum lacrimabile inter eosdem (Pictores) gestum est juxta Castellum Credi ubi Elpinius effugit.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 355.

[3] Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, id est, collis credulitatis.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 9.

not imply that the name was then first applied to the hill, but that it was peculiarly appropriate to a hill on which an assembly was held regulating the faith, discipline, and rights of the church; and it is remarkable that a similar assembly affecting the church appears to have been held by the same Nectan, son of Derili, not long before the Moot Hill first appears under the name of the Castle of Belief. Bede tells us that in 710 this Nectan, king of the Picts, renounced the error in which he and his nation had till then been held in relation to observances of Easter, and sent messengers to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, requesting him to write him a letter containing arguments by which he might convince those opposed to him, as well as to send him architects to build a church after the Roman manner, promising to dedicate it to St. Peter. The abbot sends the letters and the architects[1]; and Bede tells us that 'when it was read in presence of Nectan and many of his most learned men, and interpreted to him, he rose from among his nobles who sat about him, and declared that he would always observe the true Easter with his nation. A decree was accordingly sent by public command through all the province of the Picts.'[2]

The expressions in this passage leave little room to doubt that we have here an assembly precisely similar to those in

[1] Bedæ *His. Ec. An.*, B. V. c. 21.

[2] Hæc epistola cum præsente rege Naitono, multisque viris doctioribus esset lecta, ac diligenter ab his qui intelligere poterant, in linguam ejus propriam interpretata, multum de ejus exhortatione gavisus esse perhibetur; ita ut exsurgens de medio optimatum suorum consessu genua flecteret in terram, Deo gratias agens, quod tale munusculum de terra Anglorum mereretur accipere. . . . Statim namque jussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum, per universas Pictorum provincias circuli Paschæ decennovenales.

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906 and in 1209—the king in the midst of his nobles, with his clergy, issuing a decree regulating the faith and rites of the church; and there is every probability that it likewise took place on the Moot Hill of Scone, and that it then received the name of the Mount of Belief,—a name which we find applied to it within but a few years after the date of this transaction. Nectan appears also to have founded the church at Scone.[1]

In 717, in consequence of his adoption of the Roman usages, Nectan expels the Columbian clergy beyond Drumalban, the mountain range which at that time separated the provinces of the Picts from Dalriada,[2] and in 724 he abdicates the throne and becomes himself an ecclesiastic,[3] retiring probably to the church he had founded at Scone. His successor in the Pictish is Drust, and by him Nectan is seized and bound in 726. In the same year Drust is expelled by Alpin,[4] and two years after is in turn driven out by Nectan

[1] This appears from the Legend of St. Boniface, who is said to have been a missionary to the Picts, and to have converted them and their king Nectanius to Christianity. This is obviously the same transaction, and by the conversion of the Picts and their king, the rejection of the Columban usages and the adoption of the Roman are really meant.

Nectan meets the missionaries at Restinoth, and is converted; and it is added —"Rex vero ipsorum virorum timencium Deum locum baptisterii in nomine Sancte Trinitatis Beato Bonifacio tradidit et deliberauit" (*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 423.) Restinoth, however, was dedicated to St. Peter, and not to the Trinity; and there is little reason to doubt that it was the church built by the architects sent by Ceolfrid, which Nectan promised to dedicate to St. Peter; but when Alexander II. conveys the Church of Scone to the Canons of St. Augustine, it is described as "ecclesiam in honorem Sanctæ Trinitatis dedicatam quæ est in Scona." This, therefore, appears to have been the place conveyed to St. Boniface, "in nomine Sancte Trinitatis."

[2] 717. Expulsio familie Ie trans dorsum Britannie, a Nectano rege.—Tigh. *apud Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 74.

[3] 724. Clericatum [N]echtain regis Pictorum. Druxst post eum regnat.—(*Ibid.*)

[4] 726. Nechtain mac Derili constringitur apud Druist regem. Druist de regno Pictorum ejectus et Elphin pro eo regnat.—(*Ibid.*)

who, in the battle near the Moot Hill of Scone, recovers his kingdom and territories, and his death is recorded in 732.[1]

The events of Nectan's reign, therefore, appear all to centre upon Scone, and from his reign at least, if not from a much earlier period in the Pictish monarchy,[2] it was the "sedes principalis regni," where the assemblies of the nation were held, and the possession of which placed

[1] 732. Nechtan mac Derile mortuus (*Ibid*).

[2] This was the belief in Fordun's time. In narrating the foundation of the monastery of Scone by Alexander I., he says, "Quam fundatam ædificavit loco, quo reges antiquitus tam Scoti quam Picti sedem regni primam constituerunt" (Fordun a Hearne, vol. ii. p. 441); and again, "Fundata enim est, ædificata et dedicata, ut dictum est, apud Sconam, ubi antiqui reges, Cruthino primo Pictorum rege, sedem regni Albaniæ constituerant" (vol. iii. p. 680).

There is probably more resemblance than at first sight appears between the circumstances by which, according to tradition, Tara became the chief seat of Ireland, and those which gave Scone the same character in Scotland.

Tara is in the province of Meath, and according to old tradition this province was formed by taking a portion from each of the four provinces of Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Ulster, as mensal lands for the support of the Irish monarchy. In each of the four portions forming the province of Meath was a place where assemblies were held. In that taken from Munster was Tlachtga; in that from Leinster, Teamar or Tara; in that from Connaught, Uisneach; and in that from Ulster, Tailteann. Tara was the sedes principalis, or chief seat, where the *Ardrigh*, or supreme monarch, was inaugurated.

Now, of the seven provinces of which the Pictish kingdom was composed, the four southern—viz. (1) *Fortren*, extending from Forth to Tay; (2) *Atfodla* or Atholl; (3) Angus and Mearns; and (4) Fife and Forthref, may be said to meet in Gowrie; and in a charter by Malcolm IV. to the canons of Scone, "in principali sede regni nostri fundata," he conveys to them the tithe "de quatuor maneriis meis de Gouerin scilicet de Scon et de Cubert et de Forgrund et de Straderdel." Scone is separated from the first province by the Tay. Cubert, or Cupar-Angus, adjoins Angus. Forgrund, now Longforgan, is separated by the Tay from a parish in Fife bearing the same name; and Straderdel or Strathardel stretches along the east boundary of Athol.

I venture, therefore, to suggest that Gowry was likewise formed as mensal lands for the support of the Crown from four provinces, of which these four manors respectively formed a part, and that Scone was the "sedes principalis."

its occupant at the head of the Pictish people as their monarch.

It was in this sense that Flann of Bute, in recording the possession of the Pictish throne by Kenneth mac Alpin, a king of Scottish race, says that he 'obtained the kingdom of Scone.'[1] He is said by Giraldus Cambrensis to have assembled the Pictish nobles to a banquet and cut them off by stratagem; and the metrical Irish chronicle, termed the Prophecy of St. Berchan, implies that this took place at Scone.

> By him are deceived in the East the fierce ones,
> He shall dig in the earth, powerful the art,
> Dangerous goad-blades, death, pillage,
> On the middle of Scone of high shields.[2]

Fordun states that Donald, the brother and successor of Kenneth, died at Scone, the "sedes regia," or royal seat;[3] but there is a remarkable variety in the old chronicles as to the place of his death. The Pictish Chronicle, the oldest of them, says that he died in his palace of *Cinnbelachoir*. St. Berchan, the next oldest authority, says—

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[1] Convocatosque tanquam ad convivium magnates Pictorum cunctos, captata tam cibi quam potus crapula et ingurgitacione forsan nimia et, opportunitate notata, clavorum extractione qui tabulata tenebant, in bancorum concavitatem quibus sedebant, mira decipula poplite tenus, ita quod se nullatenus erigere possent, communiter undique lapsos, de subitos, quidem et improvisos, nec ab affinibus et confederatis suoque beneficio confeodatis et bellorum sociis quicquam tale timentes, statim trucidaverunt universos. — *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 165.

[2] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 84. The *Scala cronica* says of the last king of the Picts—"Cesti fust le darain roy dez Picys, si fust tue a Scone par treisoun."—*Ib.* p. 202.

[3] Apud Sconam vero sedem regiam.—Fordun a Hearne, vol. i. p. 306.

Three years to the king
And three months; who shall number them?
On Loch Adhbha shall be his grave.
He dies of disease suddenly.[1]

A century after, one of the later chronicles says he died at *Rathinveramon*, which is repeated in subsequent lists;[2] and the Chronicon Elegiacum confirms Fordun's account that he died at Scone.[3]

These names, however, can all be referred to localities in the immediate neighbourhood of Scone. One of the great military ways constructed by the Romans leads from the Roman station at Strageath, in Stratherne, to the Tay, at the mouth of the Amond, where there are the remains of another Roman station. There is here a ford on the Tay called Derder's Ford, and above it the remains of an old bridge. The Roman road is continued on the opposite side of the river, through a Roman camp called Grassy Walls; and on the bank of the river, between it and the road, are the remains of a small fort, laid down on the Ordnance map under the name of Gold Castle, but generally known as Silver Castle. This military way crosses the river about half-a-mile north of Scone; and between it and Scone there appears to have been formerly a small lake, the situation of which is indicated by a farm termed Lochtown. Now the word *Belach* is an old Irish word originally applied to any leading road or highway, and

[1] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 85.

[2] Mortuus est in Rathinueramon.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 151 and 174.

[3] Qui Scone fertur subditus esse neci.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 178.

in the modern form of *Bealach* to a mountain-pass; and *oir* means gold. The name of *Belachoir* seems, therefore, to be connected with this military way, and the palace at *Cinnbelachoir* to have been at no great distance from it.[1] *Rathinveramon* means the *Rath* or fort at the mouth of the Amond, and clearly refers to the Roman station there. *Adhbha* means a palace, and *Loch Adhbha* the loch of the palace; and in its corrupted form of Locheye it is laid down in the Ordnance map between Scone and the Roman road. These places probably all belonged to the defences and possessions of that central seat of the monarchy known generally by the name of Scone.

Grìg, the fourth king in succession from Kenneth, termed by the Pictish Chronicle, Ciricius, and elaborated by Fordun into Gregorius, is said by him to have been solemnly crowned at Scone;[2] and, immediately after, to have regulated the state of the church by freeing it from the servitude to which it had been subjected under the Picts.[3] The precise import of what he did is not very clear; but Fordun is corroborated by older authority, and

[1] The name of Belachoir only occurs in one other document — the Life of Cadroe—where it is mentioned as the last of what appears to be a series of ecclesiastical foundations by the Scots, the immediately preceding foundation being Rigmont in St. Andrews. "Rigmonath quoque Bellethor urbes, a se procul positas, petentes, possessuri vicerunt." — *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 108. St. Andrews is first mentioned likewise under the name of *Cindrighmonaigh.—Ibid.* p. 76.

[2] Idem vero Gregorius, cum regni regimen, pluribus majorum annuentibus, optinuisset, Scona solemniter coronatus est. Fordun a Hearne, vol. ii. p. 310.

[3] Hic primus dedit libertatem Ecclesie Scoticane que sub servitute erat usque ad illud tempus ex consuetudine et more Pictorum.—*Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 151, 174.

it seems to point to an assembly held at Scone similar to those already referred to.

In the reign of Constantine, not many years after took place, in 906, the meeting between the King and the Bishop of St. Andrews, when the rights and laws of the church were again regulated on the Mount of Belief, near the royal city of Scone.[1]

Constantine mac Culen, who seized the throne towards the end of the same century, is said by Fordun to have invaded the "sedes regia" or royal seat, and to have placed the crown upon his head there;[2] and that he took possession of Scone is corroborated by St. Berchan, who says—

> Woe to Alban through his short time.
> Men will be feeble around him
> In the land of Scone of sounding shields.[3]

By the chronicles of the twelfth century he is said to have been slain at *Rathinveramon*, or the fort at the mouth of the Amond, which is thus again connected with Scone.[4]

On the legend narrated by Fordun, that Malcolm the Second bestowed the whole of the territory of Scotland, which had hitherto "ritu priscorum" remained in the proper possession of the crown, in grants to the barons and knights,

[1] See *antea*, p. 29.

[2] Constantinus Calvus, filius Culenii, de quo superius fit mencio, ducens secum quos habuit fautores, publica constitucione despecta, sedem invasit regiam et paucis procerum annitentibus, capiti proprio regni coronam imposuit.—Ford. a Hearne, ii. 345.

[3] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 97.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 151, 174, etc.

retaining only the Moot Hill of Scone,[1] probably little dependence can be placed; it has more the aspect of a legal fiction than of a tradition.[2]

Fordun, however, after narrating that Malcolm Canmor had, with the assistance of Edward, Earl of Northumberland, defeated Macbeth, driven him across the Mounth, and slain him at Lumfanan, adds that the adherents of Macbeth took his relation Lulach to Scone, and having placed him in the royal seat, declared him king.[3] After four months, however, he too was slain, and Malcolm Canmor, having prostrated all his enemies, was himself, in presence of the magnates of the kingdom, placed in the royal throne at Scone, and solemnly crowned.[4]

[1] Nichil inde possidendum sibi retinuit, præter regiæ sedis Sconæ monticulum. Ford. a Hearne, ii. 365.

[2] The spurious laws of Malcolm Mackenneth begin with the following:—

1. Dominus rex Malcolmus dedit, et distribuit totam terram regni Scotiæ, hominibus suis.
2. Et nihil sibi retinuit in proprietate, nisi regiam dignitatem et montem placiti in villa de Scona.

To which Sir John Skene adds the following note:—

"*Montem placiti.* Montem seu locum intelligit, ubi placita, vel curiæ regiæ, de placitis et querelis subditorum solent teneri. Ubi Barones compareant et homagium ac alia servitia Regi debita, offerant. [the mute hill of Scone]. Et vulgo, *omnis terra* vocatur; quia ex terræ mole et congerie exædificatur; quam regni Barones, aliique subditi ibi comparentes, vel coronandi regis causa, vel ad comitia publica, vel ad causas agendas et dicendas, coram rege, in unum quasi cumulum et monticulum conferebant." —*Reg. Mag.* 1597, p. 1.

[3] Subito namque post mortem Machabei, convenerunt quidam ex ejus parentela sceleris hujusmodi fautores, suum consobrinum nomine Lulach, cognomine fatuum, ad Sconam ducentes, et impositum sede regali regem constituunt. Ford. a Hearne, ii. 398.

[4] Prostratis ubique cunctis hostibus, vel ad suam deductis pacem, idem sæpedictus Malcolmus, apud Sconam, præsentibus regni majoribus, in throno regali positus est, et in omnium Scotorum gloriam et honorem, eodem Aprili mense, die sancti Marci coronatus.—*Ibid.* p. 399.

St. Berchan implies in his obscure language, purposely veiled to preserve the fiction of a prophecy, that Macbeth had been attacked and defeated at Scone :—

> "Twenty years and ten years
> Over Alban the sovereign reigned ;
> On the middle of Scone, it will vomit blood,
> The evening of a night in much contention." [1]

Although Malcolm Canmor was crowned at Scone, it appears in his reign to have ceased to be the ordinary residence of the kings. The towns which had been rising in importance in other parts of Scotland gradually became both the occasional residence of the monarch, and the place where his courts and the assemblies of the nation were held; and the numerous monasteries founded by Malcolm and the kings of his race were frequently selected as the places where their court was from time to time held. Dunfermline, where Malcolm founded a monastery, was frequently his residence ; and here he himself, and his successors on the throne, were buried. The "Castrum puellarum," or Edinburgh Castle, also appears as a royal residence in his reign. Edgar, his successor, died at Dundee; and though Alexander I. founded a monastery at Scone in 1115, and his charter, which is granted with the consent of his queen, two bishops, and six earls, implies that a council had probably been held at Scone, of the three other charters he granted to the monastery, one is dated at Stirling, another at Perth, and the third only at Scone.

[1] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 102.

During the reign of David I. we find little mention of Scone. Under his auspices feudalism was rapidly acquiring predominance in Scotland, and its social state and institutions were becoming assimilated to feudal forms and ideas, while the old Celtic element in her constitutional history was gradually retiring into the background. The reign of David I. is the true commencement of Feudal Scotland and the termination of Celtic Scotland; and with it, to a great extent, the old traditionary position of Scone, as the scene of her national assemblies, and the seat of the royal court, became less prominent, although the kings were still anxious not to endanger the traditionary title of the monarchy by dispensing altogether with the Celtic element in their inauguration, and continued to be crowned, and occasionally to hold parliaments, there.

Fordun narrates that on the death of David I. the people took his grandson Malcolm, a boy in his thirteenth year, and constituted him king at Scone, in room of his grandfather.[1] This passage is taken by him from John of Hexham, a contemporary authority, and is therefore authentic. The only assembly which is recorded to have been held in the reign of Malcolm was summoned to meet at Perth,[2] and the charter granted by him to Scone, in which

[1] Tollens quoque omnis populus Malcolmum, puerum tredecim annorum, filium Henrici comitis Northumbriæ et Huntingdoniæ, filii ipsius regis David, et apud Sconam constituerunt regem pro David avo suo. Fordun a Hearne, vol. iii. 692. John of Hexham adds the expression, "Sicut consuetudo illius nationis est," which is omitted by Fordun.—*Priory of Hexham*, i. 170.

[2] Fordun a Hearne, iii. p. 695.

it is said to be the "principalis sedes regni," is dated at Stirling. On Malcolm's death, Fordun tells us that the prelates and nobles met at Scone and declared his brother William to be king, and that he was blessed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, and inaugurated in the royal chair[1]. The traces of the assemblies of the estates and the meetings of the "curia regis" now became much more frequent. Out of twenty-four such assemblies which are recorded, only one was held at Scone, but that was the meeting in 1209 of the "commune consilium regni," at which various laws were passed, and the rights and privileges of the church guaranteed.[2] In the coronation of Alexander the Second, we have the first distinct intimation of the seven earls of Scotland taking a part in the ceremony, for we are told by Fordun that on the day after the death of William the Lion, the Earls of Fife, Stratherne, Atholl, Angus, Menteth, Buchan, and Lothian, with the Bishop of St. Andrews, took his son Alexander, a youth of sixteen and a half years old, to Scone, and there solemnly inaugurated him as king—Alexander holding high festival at Scone on that and the succeeding day ;[3]

[1] Porro, post Malcolmi regis obitum, convenerunt apud Scónam prelati Scociæ, cunctique proceres, ejusdem germani Willelmi mandante præcepto, tunc regni custodes, quem ibidem unanimes in regem erigunt. Igitur in vigilia natalis Dominî, die viz. xv. post regis mortem, idem Willelmus, amicus Dei, leo justiciæ, princeps pacis, a Ricardo episcopo Sancti Andreæ, et aliis officio coadjuvantibus, in regem benedicitur, atque regali cathedra sublimatur. Fordun a Hearne, iii. 702.

[2] *Act. Parl. Scot.* p. 59.

[3] In crastino quoque post regis obitum summo mane, episcopo Glasgwensi Waltero, electo de Rossa Roberto, Regina, Willelmo de Boscho cancellario, plerisque familiaribus cum corpore regis defuncti re-

but of fifteen assemblies recorded to have been held in his reign only one met at Scone.[1]

Fordun's graphic account of the coronation of Alexander the Third has already been given. There are notices of fifteen assemblies in his reign, but only two were held at Scone; both, however, of great national importance. The first was the meeting of the Estates in 1283 for the settlement of the succession to the throne in favour of the Maiden of Norway; and the other held in 1285, when "the States gadryd was."[2]

John Baliol held an assembly at Scone after his coronation in 1292,[3] which is the first to which the name of Parliament is distinctly given, and in 1296 the coronation-stone was removed to Westminster.

Such is a rapid sketch of the part which Scone appears to have played, and the position which it occupied, in the constitutional history of Scotland, for at least six out of the eight centuries during which, according to Blind Harry, the fatal stone was preserved there prior to its removal to England in 1296.

manentibus, de Fife, de Stratherne, de Atholia, de Angusia, de Menteth, de Buchan, de Laudonia comites, una cum episcopo Sancti 'Andreæ Willelmo, filium regis Alexandrum, XVI. et semis annorum adolescentem, assumpserunt, et secum usque ad Sconam adducentes, sublimius et gloriosius, tam honorifice quam pacifice, quam eo usque quisquam, et secundum Deum et homines in regem sublimatus est, omnibus congratulantibus et nemine contradicente. Rex Alexander apud Sconam eo die, feria scilicet sexta, et sabbato sequenti, festo scilicet Sancti Nicholai, necnon et imminenti Dominica, festivitatem suam tenuit honorifice sicut decuit. Ford. a Hearne, vol. iii. 739.

[1] *Act. Parl. Scot.* p. 76*.

[2] *Act. Parl. Scot.* p. 82; Wyntoun, *Chron.* vii. c. x.

[3] *Act. Parl. Scot.* p. 89.

The coronation stone is described by Professor Ramsay as consisting "of a dull reddish or purplish sandstone, with a few small imbedded pebbles. One of which is of quartz and two others of a dark material, which may be Lydian stone. The rock is calcareous, and is of the kind that masons would call freestone."[1]

The country around Scone is also formed of old red sandstone. It is thus described in the Statistical Account—"For several miles along the course of the Annaty burn the outcrop has been laid bare by the stream, and exhibits well-defined sections of the deposit. It is one of the lower members of the old red sandstone formation, which abounds in this part of the country. There is little variety in the aspect or structure of the rock, except that here and there a bed of lighter or darker colour, more or less abounding in comminuted scales of mica, occasions slight apparent variations."[2]

The conclusion I have therefore come to is, that there was no connection between the stone at Scone and the *Lia Fail* at Tara, and that the legends of their wanderings, like those of the tribes with whom they are associated, are nothing but myth and fable.

It was the custom of Celtic tribes to inaugurate their kings upon a sacred stone supposed to symbolise the monarchy. The Irish kings were inaugurated on the *Lia Fail*,

[1] Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 499, Appendix.

[2] *Stat. Ac.*, vol. x. p. 1044. The distinguished geologist Mr. Archibald Geikie, has, at my request, kindly examined the stone, and his account of it will be found in the Appendix, p. 50.

which never was anywhere but at Tara, the "sedes principalis" of Ireland; and the kings in Scotland, first of the Pictish monarchy, and afterwards of the Scottish kingdoms which succeeded it, were inaugurated on this stone, which never was anywhere but at Scone, the "sedes principalis" both of the Pictish and of the Scottish kingdoms.

APPENDIX.

X
Cogitauit & respondit ultime ait mihi

I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION OF ALEXANDER III.

AS LEFT BY FORDUN IN 1385.

The passages omitted by Bower are printed in Italics.

ALEXANDER, prædicti regis Alexandri filius,

cum multitudine comitum, baronum et militum, puer etatis annorum octo, venit ad Sconam die Martis proximo sequenti, scilicet iii Idus Julii. Interfuerunt itaque venerabiles patres, David de Bernham episcopus Sancti Andreæ, et Galfridus episcopus Dunkeldensis, vir tam clero quam populo *in multis* graciosus, in temporalibus et spiritualibus sollicitus, *qui omnibus tam magnatibus quam pauperibus amabilem, malefactoribus vero se terribilem exhibebat. Interfuit etiam ibidem Abbas ejusdem monasterii Sconensis.* Et ecce statim postquam congregati fuerant, orta est inter magnates discensio. Quidam enim illorum illo die non regem sed militem facere voluerunt, dicentes, quia dies Egipciacus est ; et hoc, non propter diem Egipciacum, dictum est, sed quia Dominus Alanus Dorwart, tocius tunc Scociæ justiciarius, ipsum eo die cingere voluit gladio militari.

AS ALTERED BY BOWER IN 1447.

The passages interpolated by Bower are printed in Italics.

FILIUS istius regis Alexandri, Alexander *nomine, eidem in regno successit. De quo potest verificari quod scriptum est : mortuus est pater illius, et quasi non est mortuus ; similem enim sibi reliquit post se. In vita sua vidit, et lætatus est in illo, et in obitu suo, non est contristatus, nec confusus est coram inimicis : reliquit enim defensorem domus contra inimicos, et amicis reddentem gratiam. Hæc ibi. Hic post mortem pii patris,* cum multitudine *præsulum, prælatorum* Comitum, Baronum et militum, puer Alexander, ætatis annorum octo *constipatus,* venit ad Sconam die Martis proximo sequenti, tertio sciz. Idus Julii. Interfuerunt autem *inter ceteros* David de Bernhame episcopus Sancti Andreæ, et Galfridus episcopus Dunkeldensis *adhuc sospes,* vir tam clero quam populo gratiosus ; in temporalibus et spiritualibus solicitus satis erat. Et ecce, statim postquam congregati fuerant, orta est dissentio inter magnates. Quidam enim illorum, illo die, non regem, sed militem, facere voluerunt, dicentes, quia dies Egyptiacus est ; et hoc non propter diem Ægyptiacum dictum est, sed quia Dominus Alanus Durward regni justiciarius, *et tanquam flos militiæ*

Quibus supponentibus, vir providus in consilio et perspicuus Dominus Walterus Comyn, Comes de Menteth, respondit, dicens, se vidisse regem

consecratum non tamen militem, sed et sæpius audisse reges consecratos, qui non fuerunt milites;

Et addidit inquiens, quod regio sine rege procul dubio quasi navis est in mediis maris fluctibus sine remige, seu rectore. Diligebat enim semper regem *piæ memoriæ* Alexandrum jam defunctum, sed et hunc eciam propter patrem.

Idioque quamcicius potuit ipsum puerum in regem sublimare proposuit, quia differe paratis semper nocet.

reputatus, regem ipso die cupiebat insignire gladio militari. *Cum igitur hinc inde magna fieret altercatio, et magnatum quasi ad partes tumultuosa separatio*, vir providus consilio, strenuus miles Walterus Comyn, *fortis satis animo, partes ad concordiam prudenter flectere tunc sategit*, dicens *se habere debere vocem in consilio, quia ipse comes de Menteth experientia plura prævidebat: unde libera voce protestatus est se* vidisse regem consecratum, nondum tamen militem; sed et sæpius audisse, *ac pro certo cognovisse* reges consecratos, qui nunquam ceremonialiter ordine militari insignirentur: *hoc tamen addito, quod eo ipso quod rex coronatus aureis militaribus decoratur, sicut sceptrum et corona significare attestantur; similitudinem faciens ad illud Decretorum, viz. "quod et filius regis rex appellari debeat, quamvis regnum non habeat," a fortiori rex miles debeat censeri.* Et addidit *exemplificare*, dicens; quod sicut navis inter fluctus marinos quatitur sine remige, sic regnum destituitur sine rectore vel rege. Diligebat supra modum regem patrem jam defunctum; filium etiam *non solum* propter patrem, *sed et propter naturalem ad proprium dominum dilectionem.* Ideo, quantocitius potuit, puerum in regem sublimare proposuit, *attendens periculum illud poeticum;*
Et nocet et nocuit semper differe paratis.
Et
Qui non est hodie, cras minus aptus erit.
Caute igitur studuit partes ad unum reducere, ne, si non lites celerius sopirentur, ira cresceret in odium, et trabem traheret de festuca, et animas faceret homicidas, et proceres paricidas. Tandem ad hoc utramque partem flexit, ut

Cujus consilio dicti Episcopi, et Abbas, necnon et magnates, omnis clerus et populus, una voce, ipsum in regem erigere consensum præbuerunt et assensum.

Et factum est, *quod cum hoc idem Comes Walterus Comyn audisset, et omnis clerus*, adjungentes eis Comites, *scilicet Dominum Malcolmum Comitem de Fyff et Dominum Malisium Comitem de Stratherne et ceteros plures nobiles, Alexandrum* regem *mox futurum* ad crucem, in cimiterio ex parte orientali ecclesiæ stantem, adduxerunt, quem ibidem in regali cathedra positum, pannis sericis auro textis ornata, episcopus Sancti Andreæ et ceteri coadjuvantes in regem, ut decuit, consecrarunt; ipso quoque rege, super cathedram regalem, scilicet, lapidem, sedente, sub cujus pedibus comites ceterique nobiles *sua vestimenta coram lapide curvatis genibus sternebant. Qui lapis in eodem monasterio reverenter ob regum Albaniæ consecracionem servatur. Nec uspiam aliquis regum in Scocia regnare solebat, nisi super eundem lapidem regium in accipiendum nomen prius sederet in Scona, Sede vero superiori viz. Albaniæ constituta regibus ab antiquis.*
Et ecce, *peractis singulis*, quidam Sco-

rex ab episcopo Sancti Andreæ, qui officium inunctionis regis impleret, ipsum etiam in militem consignaret; ad modum Willelmi Rufi regis Angliæ, militaribus insigniti a Lanfranco Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, et ab eodem coronati: pro quo vide supra, lib. vii. cap. xxxi. et infra cap. iv. Quod et factum est. *David namque episcopo de S. Andrea ipsum coram magnatibus terræ baltheo militari præcingente, et jura ac vota, quæ ad regem spectant, prius Latiné, postea Gallice ipso exponente, rex omnia benigne concedens et acceptans a dicto episcopo, benedictionem et ordinationem libens subiit et admisit. Sicut ab antiquitate usque ad illa tempora mos regno inolevit, post solemnitatem regiæ coronationis, praesules* cum comitibus

regem ad crucem, in cemeterio ex parte orientali ecclesiæ stantem, adduxerunt; quem ibidem in cathedra regali positum, pannis sericis auro textis ornata, *reverenter sedere fecerunt*

Ipso vero rege super hanc cathedram regalem lapideam sedente, *coronam habente in capite, et sceptrum manu, purpuraque regia induto, solenniter præsedente*, sub cujus pedibus comites ceterique nobiles *sedilia sua, pro sermone audiendo, collocantes:*

Et ecce subito quidam Scotus *vene-*

tus *montanus* ante thronum subito genuflectens materna lingua regem inclinato capite salutavit hiis *Scoticis* verbis

" Benach de Re Alban Alexander mac Alexander mac Vleyhame mac Henri mac David" et sic pronunciando regum Scotorum genealogiam usque in finem *legebat.*

rabilis canitiei senex, quamvis silvester et montanus, *honeste tamen, pro modulo suo, indutus, et pallio scarletico coopertus, morose satis* genu flectens, materna lingua regem, inclinato capite, salutavit hujusmodi verbis *satis curialiter, dicens;*

" Benach de Re Albane Alexander mac Alexander mac Willam mac Henri mac David:" et sic, pronunciando regum Scotorum genealogiam, usque in finem *perorabat.*

II.

LETTER from Mr. GEIKIE.

28 JERMYN STREET, LONDON, S.W.
23*d April* 1869.

Dear Sir—This afternoon I have again looked at the Coronation Stone. As I suspected, it really does not throw any certain light on its own history. So far as one can judge from the external surface, this block of sandstone may have been taken from almost any of the red sandstone districts of western or eastern Scotland. It cannot have come from Iona, I think, unless we suppose that it had previously been carried thither from the mainland—a supposition which its size and ordinary commonplace appearance seem to render unlikely. Nor does its character resemble that of the red sandstones of the north-west Highlands, while it is equally unlike the usual red sandstones of the south and south-east of Scotland. There are sandstones like it in the west of Argyleshire, and similar rocks abound in the southern half of Perthshire, in Forfarshire, and southward in the great Lowland valley. I do not see any evidence in the stone itself why it may not have been taken from the neighbourhood of Scone; indeed, it perfectly resembles some of the sandstones of that district.

As a geologist I would say that the stone is almost certainly of Scottish origin; that it has been quarried out of one of the sandstone districts between the coast of Argyle and the mouths of the Tay and Forth, but that there is no clue in the stone itself to fix precisely its original source.

This is all I can send you on the subject.—Yours very truly,

ARCH. GEIKIE.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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